42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

44 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apavao OA5
Isneg

261 789 The *anibáān*, a herbaceous vine with small leaves, growing all over the district, is used as an amulet of the new rice pounded during the harvest.

252 And this leads us to the question of the *inixúbān* or roasted immature rice.

New rice is never pounded in the regular way, before reaping has been going on for several days and before *inixúbān* has been partaken of; and in many cases *inixúbān* is the only new rice that is eaten until the end of the harvest. It is of so much importance that reaping time is often referred to by the Isneg as the time of the *inixúbān*. At the same time, the natives consider the *inixúbān* as a kind of dainty: everybody, the adult as well as the child, eagerly awaits the season in which he may indulge in the roasting and eating of new rice, almost in picnic fashion.

The immature paddy and the detached ears and branches of ears that were gathered by the reapers in their *arín*-basket (tied at their girdle), and have been stored in the *patuxáw*-basket (in the hut), form the bulk of the palay used for roasting. To these are added all *bàttá*-(bundles) that were not sufficiently ripe to be exposed to the sun and stored up with the rest. All these are known collectively as *xúput*, before the roasting, and *inixúbān*, afterwards.

To prepare *inixúbān* or to *mañixub*, as the Isneg call it, the following things are needed: fire, which can always be got from the hearth, inside the *síxây*, a certain amount of fuel, a *taddó*, and two *duwág*.

The fuel used at this juncture, invariably consists of *pattár*: dry canes of *bassáw* (bamboo grass, Miscanthus sinensis, Andr.) or of *sial* (Saccharum spontaneum, L.). Neither wood, nor any other material is allowed for the purpose.

The *taddó* is a kind of square basket, woven very clumsily from splints of green bamboo. It serves as a receptacle for the paddy that is held over the fire.

The *duwág* are two forked sticks, used for manipulating the *taddó*.

When the *xúput* has been roasted sufficiently, it is placed in a mortar (*altóñ*) and pounded with a pestle (*alló*). The first time the *altóñ* or mortar is used for pounding *inixúbān*, it must be provided all around with *takkág*-amulets (schizaeaceous ferns mentioned before). Besides, it is advisable to mix another amulet with the rice, namely the *ama-ba-nát*, which is a low herb and grows in forests.

Pounding is followed by winnowing (*magsáp*). When *inixúbān* is winnowed for the first time, the Isneg take some *do-ráw* (straw, what

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busińgán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *barîbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Barîbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Barîbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. --Analyst]

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

The *koxamán* or *ko-koxamán*: Skin thick, yellow; very large; eaten only when roasted. 245

The *lippokán*: Skin thin, greenish; very small, oval.

The *liwliwág* or *uliwag*: Skin thin, red; small, elongated, a little curved; meat reddish; stalk short, purple.

The *paiyáń*: Skin thick; very large, elongated; not much esteemed.

The *papuyán*: Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, more or less sour.

The *paranán*: Skin thick, yellow; rather large; bunches very large; stalk very tall; leaves very large; not much esteemed.

The *sára*: Skin thin, purple; fruits considerably curved inwards; stalk purple.

The *tarakíta-*: Skin thick, yellow; small; eaten only when cooked.

The *tokkiyán*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *toón*: Skin thin, yellow; resembling the *baráńan*, but larger; stalk very short.

To plant bananas, the Isneg remove (*magsí*) the suckers (*así*) that grow at the base of older plants, and merely transplant them at a distance of about ten feet from one another. The dry season should be chosen for this kind of work, because bananas transplanted at that time bear thick, fleshy fruits (*pilaltúg*), while banana suckers transplanted in the rainy season usually bear only small, thin fruits (*xararpát*).

After one year a transplanted banana bears its fruit and has a few young suckers growing at its base. The top (*púso*, "heart", or *púso báxat*) of the bunch or cluster of flowers never opens. The natives cut [262] it off (*maxipúso*) and use the young flower buds for vegetables.

The bunch of fruits (*búlig*) [75] is cut (*mańbág, tabgán*) before the 251 bananas are ripe enough to be eaten (when they are still *dupát*); therefore it has to be hung in the house (*mańlúto*) until the fruits are completely ripe (*nalúto*). Sometimes the hands (*sápad*; one hand: *tańasápad*) are separated (*magsápad*) from the bunch or *búlig* in order to lessen the difficulty of handling them.

To soften them more quickly the Isneg occasionally thrust single 252 ● bananas (*dupát*) under the fire or in the ashes of the hearth. Bananas and sweet potatoes that have undergone this treatment are both called *linoóm*.

Fruits (bananas, papayas, etc.) that are nearly ripe, are called [245] *sidaxán;* when they are completely ripe, they are said to be *nalúto*.

[75] One bunch: *tańabúlig; nibbubúlig*: bearing many fruits.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244]
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, [245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

252 412 [845] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games, [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [778]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [535]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796 574